

Writing in the field of Education. The *Inquiry* of Portuguese Schools (1875)¹

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Abstract

Writing is basically representation. Ways of writing evolved and were adapted to circumstances and necessities, on material, symbolic, formal, technical, social and cultural levels. There are ways of writing within educational writing. In the history of educational writing it is possible, at first glance, to distinguish educative writing, pedagogical writing and didactic writing.

In this paper, we tried to record an historical evolution which reports the framework, configuration and constitution of writing within education, very particularly pedagogical writing. One of the aspects in which this evolution gained more notoriety was in the planning process and in the drawing up of the inspection records, where variations are noted and an evolution in the configuration and type of discourse.

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Substantive, intentional, normative and processed, the pedagogical writing gave sequence to the scholar internationalization. Two relevant aspects of pedagogical inquiry were the formal and the professional.

In view of *Inquiry* of portuguese schools (1875) and other historical registers which came about at the end of the XVIII century, the hypothesis has been put forward and founded that the school inspection is the basis of pedagogical writing in the way in which it became structured in the second half of the XIX century. This pedagogical writing establishes the figure of a new professional, the school inspector, for whom an authorial space to give his opinion, commentary and normalization is reserved.

Key-Words: writings of education; pedagogical writing; scholar inspection; *Inquiry* of 1875

Writing in the field of Education

Educational writing

Writing “is a system of human communication by means of conventional visible signs”.² The conventional signs are not limited to linguistic signs, and “writing, in its widest possible sense, cannot exactly reflect language”.³ Ways of writing evolved and were adapted to circumstances and necessities, on material, symbolic, formal, technical, social and cultural levels. Education is in(formation), interactive, conscious and centered on the self, whose goodness, legitimacy and transformation are assured by the circumstances, means, sense and sublimity of mankind. The field of education entails written different. In the history of educational writing it is possible, at first glance, to distinguish educative writing, pedagogical writing and didactic writing.

Modalities of educational writing

In the field of education, experimentation is conditioned, if not even prevented. Throughout the last two centuries, educational writing used the romance style, in the form of a formative romance and novel about behavior, either through the inherent virtues to the personification of the action and the educational interaction or through repercussions in the historical-pedagogical narrative. Also, the utopian discourse and the practice of rhetorical tools (such as allusion and metaphor) or the use of discussion and theorizing are commonplace in educational writing, in both formative writing and when individualized and applied to pedagogical writing, where imitation and analogy are substitutive and feed the imagination, and where the characters’ metamorphoses are

² Ignace J. Gelb, *Historia de la Escritura* (Madrid, 1987), p. 32.

³ Ibid., p. 30.

a replica of educational transformations. In the field of educational writing, ethical and human commitment are associated with teleology and the sublime, and are reified in (in)formation, responsibility, alterity, intended for the edification of mankind, as an aesthetic realization, full, fair and respectful of others. The teleological meaning of education can also be produced in poetry, as an edification of the aesthetic sublime and reification of mankind.

But the privileged function of establishing the authorial component falls within the epistolary genre, which links commitment resulting from the responsibility of advising with mobilization and directing the educational action. That is educative writing. In a different manner, interaction, reasoning, methods, which are fundamental ingredients in pedagogy, were documented in texts which, regardless of the eras and the thematic variations, maintained a discursive uniformity. With the emergence of human and social sciences, and very particularly educational sciences, the scientific treatise began to record research, noting down advances in knowledge, ideas, method and pedagogical applicability. An identical situation was being adopted with regard to observation and inspection. As usual in other fields of knowledge, pedagogical writing also uses dictionaries, encyclopedias, taxonomies, systems, summaries. The pedagogic act, directly on the pupil and teaching, provides him with external experiences as a result of content and method. Referring to the field of education, Immanuel Kant distinguished: care, discipline, teaching, culture. In turn, Johann Friedrich Herbart continued the distinction, between government and teaching, and understood that the educational field was constituted by government, teaching and discipline.⁴

⁴ Louis Gockler, *La Pédagogie de Herbart* (Paris, 1905), pp. 322-323.

Discipline, made explicit, emerges as a moral and pedagogical norm, or subconsciously inherent, and this takes us to the field of pedagogical writing. In addition to educational writing, as cultivated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and the pedagogical writing of Herbart, a third form of educational writing appeared – didactic writing, which mostly used the registers of the catechism, textbooks, and the school exercise.

Pedagogical writing, as can be seen here, is a combination of creativity and standardization, science and technology. In this sense, it is essentially a grammarology. But as it is writing belonging to the order of practical reasoning, which incorporates thinking, example, artistry, you can even surmise that artistry is a component of pedagogical writing. This component is taken from the epistemic framework that Pierre Bourdieu structured to explain his own scientific work. Bourdieu defined his scientific work as a philosophy of science, which is characterized as relational, and a philosophy of action, which is characterized as *dispositional*, but without his representation being limited to autonomous reasons. We can reaffirm that it is in the *métier* that such work is really condensed, as it is admitted that there are few probabilities of “parvenir à transmettre vraiment, par la seule vertu du discours, les principes de cette philosophie et les dispositions pratiques, le métier, dans lesquels ils s’incarnent”.⁵ Being institutional writing, the bearer of a grammarology, pedagogical writing cannot stop in this sense from being a writing of artistry.

In the sequence, we observed that two important treatises of pedagogical and didactic writing, were Jesuit’s *Ratio Studiorum* and J. A. Comenius *Opera Magna*. But these treatises have also a part of educative writing. Society of Jesus, approved by Bull

⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, *Raisons Partiques. Sur la théorie de l’action* (Paris, 1994), p. 10.

Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae, of September 27, 1540, cultivated and implemented from the foundation, a diverse educational writing. The Jesuit educational field has integrated an educative writing, a pedagogical writing, a didactic writing. However, these designations were not vulgarized before the eighteenth century. The founding core of Jesuitism lived in reconciling the *Spiritual Exercises*, the *Constitutions* and the *Ratio Studiorum*. There in the *Spiritual Exercises* and in the *Constitutions*, an educational apprenticeship with content, mediation and transformation (conversion), this defines the Jesuit. The educational component, as rational and order of studies, complex (in) formation, is described and symbolized in the *Ratio Studiorum*. The didactic component, knowing and learning, integrated, progressive and structured in the form of curriculum, is part of the *Ratio Studiorum*. But gains specificity in the Regulations of Colleges, in the different curricula, in textbooks, rituals, practices and school exercises. They are texts with a setting and a specific discursive focus.

Comenius also in *Opera Magna*, presents three discourse orders, as well noticed Ferreira Gomes (2006). Chapter I to VI, the fundamentals of education are presented. Chapters VII to XIX, rational studies is presented as the general didactic. From XX chapter, starts teaching itself, with reference methods, textbooks, discipline and school plan. The degree of speech assertiveness becomes more positive when it contrasts the argument about the principles and assumptions contained in the first part, with the positivity of statements that constitute the third. In *Tractate of Education* (1644), John Milton presented a general plan for an *academy*, with spaces, studies, exercises, diet, vacancies.⁶ On writing *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1689), John Locke

⁶ John Milton, *Tractate of Education* (London, 1895).

distinguishes *Essay* and *Treatise*, dedicating the study to Lord Thomas.⁷ In *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), Locke used only the word *treatise*. This *treatise* was composed from a series of letters to a friend about education of his children. Locke applies for its preceptorial experience and its medical studies concerning to a pedagogical program, which includes a curricular plan to a small teaching group. It's a pedagogical treatise.⁸

Formalized from XVIII century, educational writing has been composed by educative writing focuses on ideas, conventions and principles, themes, historical circumstances. The educative writing preserves an intentionality, but no a practical sense. The pedagogical writing focuses on the organizational, relationships and transformations. The didactic writing focuses the methods and the curricular processes. They are dealings, manifestations, accounts, testimonies, comprising discursive forms and records made up of pragmatic and meta-educational, normative, scientific, curricular and procedural specifications.

The categories comprised in the field of education are fundamentally ontological in nature, tending to be abstract and unable to be shared. There are ways of writing within educational writing. The epistolary genre, the essay, the treatise, the memoir were common discursive methods in the educational field, to which Rousseau added the romance genre. It is necessary to include at this point a brief note which allows us to distinguish pedagogical writing from didactic writing and both from educative writing, as constituent parts of educational writing.

⁷ John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (London, 2004), pp. 3-4.

⁸ John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (London, 1889).

Educative writing

Regarding educational writing, the educative is characterized by a non-denotative language with a tendency for the abstract, whilst, totally opposed to this, didactic writing is denominative and procedural, conclusive, has a tendency for the concrete, qualification and quantification. On publishing *Émile ou de l'Éducation* in 1762, Rousseau, an attentive reader of John Locke, stated that here he was gathering together “reflections and observations, in no order, and with almost no follow-up” and that it had all started in response “to a good mother who knows how to think”; he recognized that he only wanted to write a little *Mémoire* and that this ended up too voluminous, “but too short for the subject in question”. According to Rousseau, education was becoming the object of careful publications, for public use; however, what was missing was writing about the main usefulness of education “which is *the art of forming men*”.⁹ With this idea in mind, in *Émile*, Rousseau decided it was fundamental to use the principle of working on what the child and the pupil are; he used, as a system, the march of nature and, as a methodical principle, suggested carrying out the feasible, warning mothers and fathers that “what is feasible is what you want to do”. In 1761, he had published, in epistolary format, the novel *Julie ou la Nouvelle Héloïse*. It was in the form of a romance that Rousseau structured *Émile*, which is about the formation of mankind, and that the natural and circumstantial system constitutes a process, as he emphasizes when he says: “If I have said what has to be done, I have said what I had to say. It doesn’t matter that I have written a novel. It’s quite a beautiful novel about human nature”.¹⁰

⁹ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Émile ou de l'Éducation* (Paris, 1969), p. 77.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 613.

Education is within the order of the ethical, moral and aesthetic. It refers to a humanistic experience and challenges meta-language: that of allusion and fiction. Educational truth is incorporated into the authorship of the writing. The protagonist in the educational novel of Rousseau, *Émile*, is a fictional learner; the description of the educational course is, in good part, an allusion to the areas, scenarios and interactive frames which clarify and explain the metamorphic sequence. Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a self-confessed Rousseau disciple, continued the romantic genre in the fictional narratives in which he described the interaction of the schools, embedded in small rural Swiss towns, with the community; here he also noted the beneficial transformations his subjects enjoyed, incorporated into the characters. This happens in his novel *Léonard et Gertrude*.

Pedagogical writing

John Locke, attentively read by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, wrote about education, on distinguishing *essay* and *treatise*. Jean Baptista Vico published, in the form of a treatise, *Sienza Nuova* (1725). Using the epistolary genre allows reconciliation between the intentionality and the singularity of the commitment with the un-sharable. Besides Rousseau, other thinkers made use of the epistolary genre to approach the educational. It was in the form of a letter that Luís António Verney wrote and published the *Verdadeiro Método de Estudar*, composed of 16 letters and written “probably up until 1744”.¹¹ Writing when living in Paris, as he had done earlier when in St. Petersburg, the Portuguese philosopher Ribeiro Sanches wrote *Cartas sobre a Educação da Mocidade* (1760), which cover the principal subjects within education, from the political guidance

¹¹ A. A. Banha de Andrade, *Verney e a Projecção da sua Obra* (Lisboa, 1980), p. 23.

and involvement of the Enlightened Monarchy in state schooling to the contents, pedagogical models, methods, agents, and public who were capable of being educated.

Marquis of Condorcet, who published many of his works in the form of an essay, in *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain* (1793), cultivated an historical-philosophical discourse in the form of a *Mémoire*. In his representations to the Royal Academy of Sciences and presenting, two years earlier, at the Convention, a plan for public education (*Cinq Mémoires sur l'Instruction Publique*), Condorcet proceeded to use the form of the *Mémoire*, to be more precise in his reasoning and link the report-basis with principles-argument and structure-programme.

In contrast with these discursive models, Kant adopted the Manifesto format, in *Qu'est-ce que les Lumières?* The Manifesto, used to publish declarations of principle, conventions, proclamations, was frequently seen in educational writing. The Declaration of Principles was the discursive method which, since the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen*, proclaimed in 1789, came to constitute the grounds for the great mutations in Mankind. In the field of Education, it came to be used in the last two centuries to bring together, in one single call for change, the system of principles and future ideology, agreed and shaped into policies and transversal educational programmes for the different countries.¹²

¹² In the same way, at the time of the transition in the 18th Century, Adolphe Ferrière systemized a set of 30 principles to create the New Schools, which were published in: António Faria de Vasconcelos, *Une École Nouvelle en Belgique* (Neuchatel/ Paris, 1915). Later, Ferrière continued the method of manifesto-convention in *Transformemos a Escola. Apêlo aos Pais e às Autoridades* (Paris, s/d). Also Célestin Freinet systematized the 30 Pedagogical Invariants to serve as a basis for the pedagogical innovation and didactic techniques which transformed the traditional school. These innovations are centered on the School Cooperative, based on pedagogy through work, and on implementing the school press – see: Célestin Freinet, *Para uma Escola do Povo. Guia Prático para a Organização material, técnica e pedagógica da Escola Popular* (Lisboa, 1969), pp. 167-206. International Organizations, namely UNESCO, make frequent use of the Declarations of Principle.

Didactic writing

In didactic writing, as it was formalized with the state schooling, from the second half of the XVI century, scientific content had to be transformed into a written *curriculum* and be acquired by the pupils, through the teacher. The *curriculum* had to allow repetitions and, in principle, limitless reproduction. So that the information could be spoken, the most usual tool was dialogue, combining question and answer, with the hope that a significant part would be memorized and given back *ipsis verbis* by the learner, with another part being destined for practice and re-creation. However, as Pestalozzi understood, what is educational is non-exhaustive in school instruction and even less so in didactic tasks. There are dimensions that are incapable of being written about, or not directly transmittable, in the same way as there are aspects in which the oral and the written are linked and they overlap in a very particular way. But there are also educational dimensions which are not directed at schools, either through writing limitations or through silence. Françoise Waquet refers to the fact that teaching in the École Normal de Paris, in the III year of the Revolution, with the objective of “learning the art of teaching” constituted a direct overlap “of the spoken word and the written word or the printed word”.¹³

Just like pedagogical writing, didactic writing also consists of variations. It is possible to distinguish between a didactic plan and the summary of a lesson, between the test sheets and the answers in an exam, between the production of pupils and that expected of the teacher, between the exam marks and the final classification considerations. Even though the record of a didactic plan, the summary of teaching material, the answers to a didactic exercise, may all have transcripts and focus on the

¹³ Françoise Waquet, *Parler comme un Livre. L'Oralité et le Savoir (XVI^e – XX^e Siècle)* (Paris, 2003), pp. 228-229.

same terminological framework, there are variations in the lexicon and the syntax, and this is not just because of the agent and the different protocols. Different discursive methods are used to regulate and discipline the process of teaching-learning and to inform on the acquisitions obtained.¹⁴

School inspection and pedagogical writing

Inquiry and scholar writing

One of the characteristics which best distinguishes a piece of writing is formalization. School inspection formalized a pedagogical writing. Educational writing presents materialities, means of communication, discursive dispositions, technical resources for communication and writing common to other domains of human reality. But it also presents areas and forms of adaptation and exclusivity which were mainly formed and developed by reasons intrinsic to the pedagogical-didactic framework, and formalized by professional agents, with a particular emphasis on inspection.

Educational inspection is a scientific and procedural field wherein there is a cross between general and common aspects to the pedagogical-school reality, with specific aspects, evolving with time and variables, in line with facts and circumstances. In the history of pedagogical inspection, there are components of observation, inquiry, appreciation, making judgments, pragmatics and means of information, collected and adapted from other areas of reality and science, and there is a specificity arising from the educational, conveniently adapted to the nature, the necessities, the circumstances and to the pedagogical and didactic conveniences.

¹⁴ As stated, here we are not writing about the constitution and specificity of didactic writing or the silencing of the educational. Also we don't analyze here the statute of scholar book, as didactic-curricular writing.

Whether it is due to the growing analogy between the written and the organic, communicational structure of the educational institution, the systemic and transformational plan, or the growing immediacy between observation and decision, inspection is responsible for the fundamental intervention in the grammar of pedagogical writing. Also, through the intervention of the didactic standardization as well as the professional component, in this writing there is a component of artistry, as has been referred to. Of the genealogy and edification in this writing, we will herein show a historiographical essay of the *Inquiry* of 1875.

The written account of the pedagogical inspection was structural since the thematic and the procedural crossed over, reflecting the variation of the contents, the form of register, the objectives of the inspection, the programmatic boldness. The genealogy of the school-pedagogical inspection corresponds in good part to the conversion of the process of observation, description, accountability, comparison, evaluation in the pedagogical programme. As a reference we have, for the Portuguese case, the report *General Account of the First Visit of the Schools of the District of Coimbra in the year 1792*,¹⁵ which Jerónimo Soares Barbosa¹⁶ drew up, after visiting the schools by mandate of the Vice-Rector of the University of Coimbra. It is a programme for pedagogical inspection, due to its content, written in an organized fashion and because of its educational guidance and also its modality of register.

Soares Barbosa added a third part, which he called the “internal governing of schools”, to the plan of observation, which included a general questionnaire on the

¹⁵ Jerónimo Soares Barbosa, *Conta Geral da Primeira Visita das Escolas da Comarca de Coimbra no anno de 1792* (Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra: Códice nº 3175).

¹⁶ Barbosa was an Ecclesiastic Visitor and, later, a School Visitor for the District of Coimbra, representing the Vice-Rector of the University and with utmost responsibility for the Commission for Studies.

installation and functioning of schools, as well as the obligations of the teachers and the teaching practiced. In this way he distinguished the observation of the external and functional aspects (fundamentally pedagogical) from the internal aspects (essentially school-based). He went on to include in the general Visiting Plan a personal observation that allowed him to formulate a critical judgment on the school-institution. For such decision-making, he did not consider the collection and consequent treatment of the answers to the questionnaire which he received from the Vice-Rector of the University of Coimbra to be sufficient. Barbosa combined inquiry and observation with a critical report; in this way, he introduced a link between the common (the schematic, as a result of the scientific-technical combination) and the specific, as well as a link between the measurable and what can be narrated (what could be written down) with *ethos* and praxeology. In this way he constructed an educative view in order he could formulate a comparable judgment and a school to school judgment. These became the main virtues of an educational view but also the main limitations in pedagogical writing.

In the revolutionary context which gave rise to the *Declaration of the Rights of the Man and the Citizen*, and in the transnationalization of the Enlightenment and of material, scientific and cultural progress, the comparative and transversal study of education emerged and gained significance. Julien de Paris published, in 1817, *Esquisse et Vues Préliminaires d'un Ouvrage sur l'Éducation Comparée*, containing a reasoning which brought together comparison and decision, bringing pedagogy a practical diagnostic instrument: *the inquiry*. The comparative method was soon used for questions, of a specific form, in education, applying an inquiry previously organized, or giving coherence to intellectual operations of collating and serializing. Julien de Paris, after explaining the importance of education to “give each individual the profound feeling and practical knowledge which, in his sphere of activity, he should know, want

and do”,¹⁷ presents a Plan to get to know the education of the 22 cantons of Switzerland, some parts of Germany and of Italy. Afterwards, the inquiry was to be extended to all the European States. The author knew that various governments had given instructions to observe the Institutes of Pestalozzi and of Fellenberg, and it was his conviction that “the universal tendency to reach the same objective, the regeneration and perfection of public education was a sure sign of the common need felt by all the governments and all the peoples”.¹⁸

Julien de Paris’ Plan was to get to know, in a comparative way, the scholar reality of different countries and it was in the form of six series of questions: a) primary and common education; b) secondary and classic education; c) higher education and science; d) normal education; e) education for women; f) education, in relation to the legislation and the social institutions.¹⁹ But as important as the inquiry must be the select of inspectors – “they would be provided to intelligent and working men, of sure judgment, of recognized morality”.²⁰ These analytical summaries, collected at the same time in every country in Europe to every country would allow comparative frameworks. It would also allow an assessment of which disciplines to transfer to other countries.

The Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools in England and Wales (2 Volumes, London, 1818), edited by Nicholas Carlisle (assistant librarian to his Majesty), it’s a formal writing of schools. Organized by countries and parishes, includes references mainly about spaces, buildings, historic, pupils, plan of studies, the bill of masters and ushers. The author had knowledge of the *Third Report from the Select*

¹⁷ Marc-Antoine Jullien de Paris, *Esboço de uma Obra sobre a Pedagogia Comparada* (Lisboa, 1998), p. 20.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁹ Ibid., pp. 31-33.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 21.

Committee on Education of the Lower Orders (1818). The Parliamentary Committee of Enquiry was created in 1816, and the enquiry was enlarged to Scotland. Also this research contributed for the science of education.²¹

Written and scholar design

Regarding as an example the Portuguese case, between the School Visits at the end of the XVIII century and the 1875 *Inspection*, there were changes in the type of inquiry, the adequacy of the questionnaire, the breadth of the field of observation and the approach to the materials under analysis, as there was an improvement in the language, incorporating the methodical component, the curricular attainment, the conceptual and measurable rigor, and also through the use of norms and the application of scales of measurement. Method, type of language and composition are fundamental elements which allow us to speak of a construction process in the pedagogical inspection.

From the beginning of the XVIII century the historiography of different domains kept and bore witness to the different types of written documentation, destined to teach the reality and to intervene in it. The most common types were inventories/descriptions, obtained from the responses to the questionnaires, or as consultations oral or written. Those very tools make up part of the written account of education, and as an example we have a set of the preparatory Consultations of the Mapa das Escolas Menores (Map

²¹ About significance of Julien de Paris' Plan, we can read Jacqueline Gautherin, Marc-Antoine Jullien ('Jullien de Paris') (1775-1848). *Prospects: the quarterly review of comparative education* (Paris, Unesco: International Bureau of Education), vol. XXIII, no.3/4, 1993, p. 757-73. Reprinted in Unesco: International Bureau of Education, 2000, www.ibe.unesco.org/publications/ThinkersPdf/julliene.PDF

of the Lower Schools) which appear in the Alvará, by order of the Marquis of Pombal, of 6 November 1771.

The consultations of the General Directorate for Studies, as well as those subsequently made by the Higher Council for Public Education, were based on the analogous assumption of knowing (describing and measuring), so it would be possible for the collegiate organs to diagnose and decide. Still, from the Liberal Reforms of the 1830s, the consultative tools went on to explicitly include the signs and meaning of the changes.

On observing the French case, we can refer, also under the configuration of questionnaire, the “Tableau des Écoles Primaires” (20 de fructidor an V/ 19 septembre 1797) and the “Questionnaire de L’Enquête de 1829”. The inspector must write a report after visiting all schools. These reports were mainly a memory of the reality, which may contain any suggestions. The same significance had the different memories whitened by inspectors during “Guizot-Enquête” (1833) – “Questions que MM. les Inspecteurs auront à résoudre sur chaque école”. All reports of this inquiry had been written as commented tables. The main product has been a political-administrative commentary of the situation. The minister of instruction, Guizot, has determined this inquiry after the publication of the correspondent law. It’s had been necessary to wait for the second half of XVIII century, when the inspection introduce an intentionality of prospective.

An analogous situation with an identical *modus operandi* was that of the Higher Council for Public Education, created in Portugal by the Decree-Law of 7 September 1835 and recreated by the Law of 20 September 1844. Having the task of proposing general regulations and becoming aware of all the questions, complaints and claims from public education, also being empowered to inspect schools, the Higher Council for

Education helped in the consultations and collected reports and diverse correspondence. But, especially, it supported and authenticated the reports sent on a regular basis by the respective Delegates, namely the Deans and Directors of Educational Establishments, the Civil Governors, the Council Administrators; the Commissioners and Delegates for Studies. The Higher Council for Public Education's Reports was partly descriptive and partly statistical, and mainly referred to the Public Education Reform of 20 September 1844. The numerical data was statistically analyzed there and part of this data was presented in the form of maps or tables.

In the following years, the Portuguese Reports of the Higher Council for Education became more detailed, however continued to focus on the school offer and school functioning, relating to the different levels of teaching: Primary, Secondary, Higher. Regarding Primary Instruction, details are included relating to the creation and introduction of schools into public buildings, the school textbooks, school attendance as well as methods of teaching. The matters were, as a rule, addressed in the form of presenting what was the current situation, recording any increases and improvements and noting down what was lacking and any weaknesses which persisted. It is a record in the form of a scale, in which the benefits of the legislation in force at the time were taken as a norm. Conforming to the Government's Ordinance of 1 October 1849, the reports became divided out in the followed way: guidance and inspection; primary instruction, secondary instruction; special instruction; higher instruction.

Inspection and structure of scholar writing in Portugal

In the first decades of the XIX century, the questionnaires for the inspection and the consultations of the General Directorate for Studies were summary and elementary.

They mainly focused on the schools' location and access, their good or bad running, the pupils' attendance, the teachers' assiduity.

The Higher Council for Public Education, in its capacity as a planning body for the school network and custodian for the enforcement of schooling, carried out regular consultations, having more and more details regarding the school establishment, statistical details about the pupils' enrolled, their attendance and their evaluations. With the implementation of the Costa Cabral Reform (1844) school, district and state inspection was created, with a focus on the observation and commentary on the reality of the school, taken from a set of requisites written into the legislation. Such observations and commentaries would be directional in the decision making.

With the Reform of 1856, within the framework of the Regeneration, a first written formalization of the inspection was created and the need for an extraordinary inspection was felt. Although the matter had been considered on various occasions, this inspection was successively delayed. However, there was an inspection launched by the Directorate of Weights and Measures, and the Municipalities' Governors visited the Schools in the respective municipalities. The Portuguese scholar authorities were presented in the main international meetings. In 1863, a national inspection was finally launched and its statistical data, with regard to the municipalities in Portugal, the Azores and Madeira became published by district, even if not in a continuous form, on the first page of the official newspaper *Diário de Lisboa*, between May 1866 and 23 January 1867. The 1863 inspection focused on two aspects: the school and the teacher (including professional aspects, the textbooks and the organization of the studies).

Between 1863 and 1867 there was an evolution in terms of pedagogical design. In the inspection of 1867, carried out by the Study Commissioners and by the

Secondary School teachers invited by them, the critical unit was the council and the unit of observation was the teaching establishment. The questionnaire which formed the basis for the writing up of the inspection was set out in the form of a table, on the left figuring items broken up by questions (one per line) and with each column applying to a school; the column on the right gave the totals. To bring together the data and ease reading there was an extreme column, on the right, where each line had to correspond with a letter of the alphabet. The *Inquiry* of 1875 considered the previous texts, but had an integrated perspective and a new institutional dynamic.

Pedagogical dimension of scholar inspection

Questionnaire, inquiry, consultation, report were the main means of pedagogical writing until the middle of the XIX century. Analyzed as discourse and from the text, Jerónimo Soares Barbosa's report (*General Account of the First Visit of the Schools in the District of Coimbra in the year of 1792*) provided a coherent view of the educational reality, with its different components: (in)formative, institutional, organic, curricular, methodic, professional, cognitive. By bringing about this representation, Barbosa certified the veracity of the information, and explained, substantiated, with critical eyes (his and those of his informers) the state of that same reality. He used the information he had before him and looked at it pragmatically and analytically. The school inspection, in the planning sense in which it had been structured by Barbosa, was not however usual.

Differently, in cases of irregularity or obvious lack of compliance, the competent authorities went to the place which had been visited or to the town council, if this brought about a complaint. They put themselves in contact with reality, bore witness to what was going on, listened to witnesses and even, in the seat of the town council,

helped to carry out certain teaching activities, in order to verify and check the reports or to settle any confusion or doubts that had meanwhile arisen. Such practices did not adopt a programmed outlook. Although they complied with a process of observation and correction of the reality, the prognosis of the inspection did not become diagnostic. Nothing of importance came about as a result of the inspection; it lacked to combine an educative with a pedagogical perspective.

The comparative study formalized by Julien de Paris, was essentially a pedagogical inquiry. The Guizot inquiry includes the substantive, organic and technical dimensions. It is an essay of a professional inspection. The sequence of Reports from the Higher Council of Education, between 1844 and 1859, contain the principal aspects of the changes being brought about. These Reports became doctrinal, not only with regard to the applicability (or not) of the legislation in force, but also regarding the standardization of the running of the school, the manuals to adopt, the methods of teaching. The consistent observation of the Report of 1858 is significant: “It’s a shame that the government of His Majesty has still not resolved the consultation, which was brought before his esteemed presence, on 5 March 1858, to finally decide which objects make up this furniture, indispensable to regularize school exercises; as well as the other one, dated 18 December 1857, on the uniformity of the elementary books and their free distribution to poor pupils, and whose resolution, of no less importance, involves adopting the simultaneous method, fixed by law”.²²

The need for regular inspection was noted and duly approved by the Higher Council for Public Education who included, in the Draft Law incorporated in *1855-1856 Annual Report*, the creation of local inspection commissions. These commissions

²² Apud Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, *Relatórios do Conselho Superior de Instrução Pública (1844-1859)* (Coimbra, 1985), p. 287.

worked alongside each school and would report back to the Commission for Studies on the correct functioning and the discipline of pupils and teachers. The Commissioners for Studies had to visit all the schools on an annual basis. As we have stated, the first regular, general, planned inspections, supported by duly standardized written instruments, date from the 1860s.

Inquiry of Portuguese schools (1875)

The *Inquiry* of 1875²³ for the portuguese schools is made up of processes grouped together in books. Each process is composed of 37 items, introduced in the form of a question and grouped into three sections: the school house, its furniture and utensils (1.º to 13.º); the teacher and school service (14.º to 30.º); the pupils, their attendance and achievement (31.º to 37.º). At the end of each section, there were a few lines set aside for general observations relating to the matter in that respective section.

This survey contains general aspects, relating to education and the relationship between the Portuguese society and school. It contains specific elements relating to teacher education, methods, evaluation of students and graduation of learning. But mainly focuses on reporting to the place of education at the school and, to ways of organizing the teaching, to school activities and performances, to formal writing, to functions of teachers, to the organization of the class. It's fundamentally a pedagogical writing.

²³ Deposited in the Archives of Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, there are 25 books, with information missing on seven districts, and with a lack of data referring to twelve municipalities. The integral copies of the *Inquiry* of 1875 had been published as *Inspection of Public and Particular Schools*, in <http://digitarq.arquivos.pt/details?id=4246743>. For a historical commentary, we can read Justino Magalhães and Áurea Adão. *Inspecção às Escolas e Escrita Pedagógica*, accessible in <http://atlas.ie.ul.pt/wp-content/uploads/2014/01/Inqu%C3%A9rito-de-1875-e-Inspec%C3%A7%C3%A3o-de-1867.pdf>

The *Inquiry* of 1875 shapes pedagogical writing. It projects and articulates references upstream, opening up education's wide and abstract dimensions, converging downstream to the concrete, the specific, the localized, the singular, constituted by the didactic component. But it is centered on the pedagogical: where a schematic, formalized way of writing is cultivated and a theme (teaching-learning) is defined, the whole process, and consequently the text, is centered on the teaching relationship, with an emphasis on the teacher. The pupil here is not ignored. Being a composite text, the body of the inquiry gives information about the material, organic and institutional conditions (the context); it is situated in a time and place; it refers to defined communities. The text is traversed with a terminological coherence.

As we have been aiming to demonstrate, the pedagogical text is, as a rule, composite, admitting formats and discourses from different sources and referring to meanings and explorations which are not always convergent. But as a text, has subjacent a context and contains an intentionality. The *Inquiry* of 1875 contains an educational density and a structural reach which give rise to hermeneutical exercises based on an analytical and instrumental reasoning, and which surpass the game of citations. Studies by example or to prove an outside point of view were already common.

The *Inquiry* is a text which, item by item, incorporates what was the most recently and internationally disclosed information relating to: architectural characteristics of the school building, capacity for renewable air; light; ways of organizing the class; scale of knowledge; coherence of the cognitive and instrumental acquisitions; methods of teaching; in short, the written text is seen as diagnostic and decisive. It is a schematic piece of writing, established from a plan and destined to bring

about a programme of observation, research and change. It is a piece of writing drawn up, using the current technical resources, namely the use of statistics. Taken as a text, this *Inquiry* of 1875 was doctrinal and constructed a path. Another characteristic of this pedagogical writing refers to the protocols, the interaction and the hierarchies implicit in the inquiry. Who is talking about whom and with what right?

The uniformity of discourse and of reports correspond a progressive constitution of the inspection as a professional corp. This historical process had common aspects into the general educational systems. The Portuguese case demonstrates that progressively intellectuals, pedagogues, institutors had been inspectors, but finally emerged a corps of examined, specialized and professionalized inspectors by each teaching sector. The same it's possible to conclude in the French case "the existence of the inspectors of primary education responds to a real need; their action is combined with that of the academy, sub-prefects and presidents inspectors. These inspectors have provided leadership of a corporation of teachers in the XIX century and after".²⁴

In this way, in the *Inquiry* of 1875, there is a historiographical perspective which documents and gives meaning to the interpretation of the socio-cultural, organic-functional and technical-professional relations which underlie or emerge from the reading and from the painstaking analysis of the very text, either in the numeric and descriptive information or in the observations delivered by each inspector. The interaction between the different parties is not necessarily in tune with the relationship between the different items and the respective answers. It is as a piece of writing and as a text that this historical source should become a historiographical source. In this sense, historians in Education will also not fail to feel involved in the lines of historiographical

²⁴ In Guy Caplat (dir.), *Les Inspecteurs Généraux de l'Instruction Publique. Dictionnaire Biographique 1802-1914* (Paris, 1986), p. 66.

renovation, as systemized by Roger Chartier: “the return of historians to the archives undoubtedly falls within a wider movement: the renewed interest for the text. Historians have lost much of their timidity or naivety concerning the canonic texts of their neighbours – historians of literature, science or philosophy – and this is happening at the very same time as, in these *other* histories, the socio-historical or contextualized approaches were finding a new vigor after the unshared domination of the structural and formalistic measures”.²⁵

Pedagogical writing made vernacular languages evolve, since the scientific, technical, lexical and semiotic possibilities acted in response to the necessities, and advanced the level of knowledge and professionalism of both the inspectors and the teachers. The *Inquiry* of 1875 is an excellent example of all this virtuosity. The Portuguese Language here is translated into a formal vernacular, rigorously used, circulating between different parties, regarding different matters and different descriptive, argumentative, circumstances. Whilst being an archived piece of work and historical source, this *Inquiry* has unique value. It refers to the country in its entirety; it shows, in the Portuguese language, a complex and multi-dimensional reality. It locates pedagogy in Portuguese in the respective historical parallel. It is an instrument of particular significance and of incommensurable value for the historical-pedagogical reconstitution, and allows us to learn about the relationship between the School and the Portuguese Society.

Concluding

²⁵ Roger Chartier, *Au Bord de la Falaise. L'Histoire entre Certitudes et Inquiétude* (Paris, 2009), p. 12.

A piece of writing is fundamentally a piece of representation. In the present text, we tried to record an historical evolution which reports the framework, configuration and constitution of writing within education, very particularly pedagogical writing. One of the aspects in which this evolution gained more notoriety was in the planning process and in the drawing up of the inspection records, where variations are noted and an evolution in the configuration and type of discourse.

In view of the Portuguese *Inquiry* (1875) and other historical registers which came about at the end of the XVIII century, the hypothesis has been put forward and founded that the school inspection is the basis of pedagogical writing in the way in which it became structured in the second half of the XIX century. There is a written register, a composition formed by the different fields, from the material to the scientific, the didactic and the teaching-learning. This pedagogical writing establishes the figure of a new professional, the school inspector, for whom an authorial space to give his opinion, commentary and normalization is reserved. Masters of the diagnostic, the inspectors became, from this point, legitimized in what they said and did in the training of the teachers and in the structure of the teaching profession.

Pedagogical writing, in the way it was structured and produced by the inspection, and in spite of admitting the commentary and the norm is, essentially, a grammar, and it was as a grammar that it represented and structured reality. The inspection writing firmed up concepts and added, in the form of a plan, the different pedagogical components. It idealized and projected upstream, questioning some fundamental principles and establishing organizational and functional models; downstream it became extensive and normative, giving uniformity to writing and regulating the activity of the teacher and the behavior of the pupil. Substantive,

intentional, normative and processed, the pedagogical writing gave sequence to the scholar internationalization. Progressively, that form of pedagogical writing opened up to the outside and, in 1875, a transnational view of schooling had already been incorporated. The importance of schooling and teacher training were standardized and (in)formation circulated between the different States and between the different professional sectors. Moreover, written texts concerning the curricular, statistic, organic, school achievement were, in good part, common to the different school sub-systems.

Pedagogical writing contains an historical value and a patrimonial significance which are incommensurable in the historical reconstitution of the 1800s. As a report, it provides overviews, cartographies, accounts of the period, which go beyond that strictly related to schools. They are extracts from the era, written in the language of the era, formatted and graphically resolved using the possibilities and technical limits, or with the conditions imposed by the different parties. The XIX century invented itself, describing and prescribing; also pedagogical writing, if the sequence of inquiries and school inspection reports are seen as prototypal, if it fits into this wide movement of material, social and organic transformation which, with printed and manuscripted modalities, paper made possible – referring here to the thesis, by Gardy, of how “a paper revolution has transformed contemporary societies”.²⁶

The *Inquiry* of 1875 is a basic landmark of the collective memory, of the education and schooling in Portugal. It is a historical source with a singular value, as a historical-pedagogical document and as an exemplar of writing in Portuguese. In the historical-comparative field, this document gives sequence for the coeternity and for the transnationalization of pedagogical questions and of scholar policies, which mark the

²⁶ Delphine Gardy, *Écrire, Calculer, Classer. Comment une Révolution de Papier a Transformé les Sociétés Contemporaines (1800-1940)* (Paris, 2008).

circulating of ideas, patterns, rules, since the half of XVIII century. Portugal took part in the mains conventions and of the mains international Events, since the second half of XIX century. The scholar inspection has prepared and made an inquiry of national dimension, printed writing, presenting the mains items for the diagnosis, the comparison and the political-pedagogical delivering.